

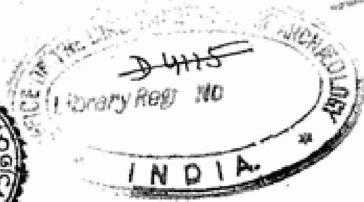
This contains the handwriting
of V. A. Smith.

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H. E. Lord Curzon of Kedleston with the author's respects

THE CONQUESTS OF SAMUDRA GUPTA.





BY

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[*From the* "JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY," *October*, 1897.]

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PREFATORY NOTE.

THE following dissertation is the second in my series of "Prolegomena to Ancient Indian History," of which the first was the essay entitled "The Iron Pillar of Delhi (Mihraulī) and the Emperor Candra (Chandra)" published in this Journal in January, 1897. The article entitled "Samudra Gupta," published in the same number of the Journal, gives in narrative form the history of the Emperor Samudra Gupta. The present paper is devoted to the detailed technical discussion of the authorities for the statements of that narrative. I may perhaps be pardoned for inviting attention to the proposed identification of King Acyuta; the justification of the reading Mahendragiri as a king's name; the probable identification of the kings Viṣṇugōpa and Hastivarman; the certain identification of the kingdom of Pālakka; the suggested identifications of the kingdoms of Devarāṣṭra and Kusthalapura; the probable identification of King Candravarman; the location of the Ābhīra tribe; and the attempted identification and differentiation of the Ṣāhi, Ṣāhānuṣāhi, and Daivaputra kings.

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August 23, 1897.

SECTION I.—GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

Candra Gupta I (A.D. 318 to *circa* A.D. 345), father and predecessor of Samudra Gupta, assumed the rank of emperor (*mahārājādhirāja*), and established the Gupta Era to commemorate his assumption of supreme power in Northern India. His capital was Pāṭaliputra (Patna), the ancient seat of the Maurya Empire, and his dominions appear to have included the whole of Bihār, both north and south of the Ganges, the eastern districts of the North-Western Provinces, and the whole, or the greater part, of Oudh. In other words, his territory extended from Bhāgalpur (Campā) on the east, along the valley of the Ganges, to Allahabad (Prayāga) and Lucknow (Sāketa) on the east.[1]

Our knowledge of the conquests of Samudra Gupta rests mainly on the inscription of the Allahabad Pillar, recorded in or about A.D. 380 ~~by order of his son and successor,~~ Candra Gupta II. Other inscriptions and coins supply a few additional details.

[1] It is, I hope, hardly necessary now to repeat the proof that Pāṭaliputra was the capital of the first and second Gupta emperors. The subject has been fully discussed in my various publications on the Gupta coinage. (J.A.S.B., vol. liii, part 1, 1884, pp. 156–163; J.R.A.S. 1889, pp. 55, 56; J.R.A.S. 1893, p. 86. See also Bühler, "On the Gupta and Valabhi Era," p. 13.)

The limits of the dominions of Candra Gupta I are deduced from the details of the conquests effected by his successors, and the language of the Purāṇas, which state that the Gupta territory extended from Magadha (Bihār) along the Ganges to Prayāga, and included Sāketa (Wilson's "Vishnu Purāṇa," 4to edition, p. 479). The Purānic definition is altogether inapplicable to the extended empire of Samudra Gupta, and to the still vaster dominions of his son and successor, Candra Gupta II. It can only be applied to the reign of Candra Gupta I, the earliest emperor, and to the beginning of the reign of his successor. The eastern limit of Magadha seems to have lain in the neighbourhood of Campā (Bhāgalpur).

The site of Sāketa has not been satisfactorily determined. The confident identification by Cunningham ("Reports," vol. i, p. 317) of Sāketa with Ayodhya, the ancient Hindu city near Fyzabad, is demonstrably erroneous, and has been justly criticized by Fergusson ("Archaeology in India," appendix B. Trübner & Co., London, 1884). Dr. Führer's identification with Sañchānkoṭ (Sujānkot, Rāmkoṭ) in the Unão District of Oudh is not proved, ~~though not, perhaps, impossible~~ ("Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh," p. 275). Fergusson was convinced that Lucknow itself is the true representative of Sāketa, and I agree with him that the site of Sāketa must be looked for at or near Lucknow. A full explanation of the reasons for this opinion would require a long dissertation. The general course of the argument is indicated by Fergusson.

The first passage in the Allahabad Pillar inscription, which deals with the conquests, is unfortunately mutilated. It is, however, so far legible as to plainly record that the emperor, with extraneous assistance, uprooted princes named Acyuta and Nāgasena, and effected the capture of a member of the family, or clan, of the Kotas. An allusion is made to the capital city Pāṭaliputra, under the well-known synonym of Pushpapura.[1]

Dr. Fleet's hesitation to identify "the city called Pushpa" with Pāṭaliputra appears to me quite unwarranted, and I have no doubt that the phrase "taking his pleasure at Pushpapura" refers to the fact that the royal city of Pāṭaliputra was the conqueror's residence and capital. The enumeration of the more distant conquests does not begin till line 19. The mention of the subjugation of Acyuta, Nāgasena, and the Kota prince in an earlier verse, and in a metrical passage completely detached from the general prose list of conquests, and coupled with the allusion to the victor's capital city, may reasonably be interpreted as implying that the victories mentioned in the earlier passage were gained in regions not very remote from the capital. The further inference that the first-mentioned conquests were the first accomplished likewise seems to be justified.

The name Acyuta ('unfallen, firm, imperishable') is of frequent occurrence. I have noted the following examples: (1) an epithet of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa (Dowson, "Classical Dictionary," Benfey, "Dictionary"); (2) the name Acyutappa in an inscription from Tranquebar in the Tanjore District, probably dated A.D. 1627 (*Ind. Ant.*, xxii, 116); (3) Acyutarāya, a king of Vijayanagara (ibid., xx, 306); (4) Acyuta Vijaya Rāghava Naikar, a king of

[1] Fleet's translation of this passage is as follows:—"(l. 13)—By whom,—having unassisted, with the force of the prowess of *(his)* arm that rose up so as to pass all bounds, uprooted Achyuta and Nāgasêna . . . . .—*(by whom)*, causing him who was born in the family of the Kôtas to be captured by *(his)* armies, *(and)* taking his pleasure at *(the city)* that had the name of Pushpa, while the sun . . . . . the banks . . . . . ;—" ("Gupta Inscriptions," p. 12).

Tanjore (ibid., vii, 25); (5) Acyutadanti, or Acyutanti—a warrior tribe (Pāṇ., v, 3, 116); (6) Acyutasthala—a place in the Pañjāb (*Mahābh.*, viii, 2,062). The last two references are given by Burgess in his valuable, though too brief, article on "The Identification of Places in the Sanskrit Geography of India" (*Ind. Ant.*, xiv, 322).

The quotations show that the name was in use both in Northern and Southern India. Certain curious and little-known coins have suggested to me the notion that the Acyuta, conquered by Samudra Gupta, may have been a king of Ahichatra (Rāmnagar, near Āonlā in Barelī District of North-Western Provinces), the ancient capital of Pañchāla. These coins, of which all the known specimens were obtained at Rāmnagar, may be described as follows:—

Type 1. *Obverse.* The legend अच्यु, *Acyu*, in bold characters, occupying the field, in dotted circle.

Reverse. An eight-rayed wheel or sun.

Type 2. *Obverse.* Portrait bust of king to right; the letter अ, *A*, behind king's head, and the letters च्यु, *cyu*, in front.

Reverse. As in type 1.

The coins are of copper, about ·6 of an inch in diameter. Weight of type No. 1, 12 to 25·5 grains. These coins were first described by Messrs. Rivett-Carnac and Carlleyle (J.A.S.B., vol. xlix, part 1, 1880, p. 87, pl. vii, 2 A and B). The form of the characters on the B coin differs from that of the characters on A. Type 2 is known only from an unique specimen in the possession of Mr. C. S. Delmerick, who also obtained two specimens of the A variety of type 1, one of which he presented to me. This coin in my possession appears to be cast, and I have no doubt that the coin is of early date, and it may well be contemporary with Samudra Gupta.

The legend can be read only as *Acyu*, and nothing else, and the completion of the word to *Acyuta* seems inevitable.

The characters closely resemble those of the Samudra Gupta inscription on the Allahabad Pillar (Bühler, "Ind. Palæographie," Tafel iv).

Rāmnagar is distant about 430 miles in a direct line from Patna, and about 150 miles from Lucknow. Ahichatra, therefore, cannot have been very far from the frontier of the dominions of Candra Gupta I, which included Lucknow.

I am inclined to believe that the rare coins above described are those of Acyuta, a king of Ahichatra, conquered by Samudra Gupta early in the reign of that monarch, about A.D. 345–350.

These coins are not mentioned by Cunningham in his work on the "Coins of Ancient India." Ten specimens of this type are in the Indian Museum (Cat., iii, 36); the highest weight is 25·5 grains, the lowest weight of a complete coin being 12 grains. Three specimens weigh 16 grains each.

I have failed to discover any clue to the identity of Nāgasena. The family, or clan (*kula*), named Kota is equally unknown. The late Dr. Bhagvānlāl Indrajī sought to identify the Kota clan with the tribe named Koḍa, mentioned in an inscription found near Sopāra in the Thāna District, Bombay, and with the Kāda of the *Kādasa* coins found near Sahāranpur in the North-Western Provinces ("Sopāra and Padana," pamph., p. 18). But these identifications are obviously not convincing. The *Kādasa* coin obtained by Dr. Bhagvānlāl Indrajī had a legend in characters of about the Aśoka period. A specimen of the same "snake type" is described by Cunningham, and associated with the coins of Taxila ("Coins of Ancient India," p. 62, pl. ii, 21). Another type of *Kādasa* coins characterized by a "*bodhi*-tree" device appears to be of the same early age, and is grouped by Cunningham with the Kuninda coins of the region near Sahāranpur (ibid., p. 71, pl. v, 6). A Kota tribe still exists in the Nīlgiris in the South of India (*Ind. Ant.*, iii, 36, 96, 205).

The principal historical passage of the inscription is contained in lines 19–23, and is in prose.

The enumeration of the emperor's victories begins with a list of "the kings of the region of the south," whom he "captured and then liberated," a phrase which is clearly meant to express the fact of temporary subjugation, as contrasted with permanent conquest.

The list of the kings of the south is as follows:—
1, Mahendra of Kosala; 2, Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra; 3, Manṭarāja of Keraḷa; 4, Mahendragiri of Piṣṭapura; 5, Svāmidatta of Koṭṭūra; 6, Damana of Eraṇḍapalla; 7, Viṣṇugōpa of Kāñcī; 8, Nīlarāja of Avamukta; 9, Hastivarman of Veṅgī; 10, Ugrasena of Pālakka; 11, Kuvera of Devarāṣṭra; 12, Dhanaṁjaya of Kusthalapura.

SECTION II.—THE KINGS OF THE SOUTH.

I proceed to discuss in the order of the text the names in this list of the kings of the south.

1. Mahendra of Kosala.

The above list of twelve countries and their kings is concerned solely with "the region of the south," as distinguished from Āryavarta, or Hindūstān. In other words, the countries enumerated all lay to the south of the Narmadā (Nerbudda) river. Consequently, the country Kosala must be the southern Kosala, and not the northern Kosala, which corresponds roughly with Oudh.

The name Kosala is sometimes spelled with the dental *s* (कोसल), and sometimes with the palatal *ś* (कोशल). Dr. Fleet considers the dental form more correct.

The *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* places the Kauśalaka (in text *Ko°*) people in the eastern division of India, and the country Kośala in the eastern division, stating that diamonds are found there.[1]

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, xxii, pp. 181, 182.

Southern, Dakṣiṇa-, or "Mahā-Kosala" comprised the whole of the upper valley of the Mahānadī and its tributaries, from the source of the Narmadā at Amarkantak on the north, to the source of the Mahānadī itself near Kānker on the south, and from the valley of the Wen-Gaṅgā on the west to the Hasda and Joṅk rivers on the east.

But these limits have often been extended, so as to embrace the hilly districts of Mandala and Bālāghāt on the west up to the banks of the Wen-Gaṅgā, and the middle valley of the Mahānadī on the east, down to Sambalpur and Sonpur. Under some of the earlier rulers the supremacy of the king of Mahā-Kosala was acknowledged by the Rājas of Orissa. Thus Yayāti Kesari . . . . speaks of Śiva Gupta of Mahākosala as the sovereign lord of the whole country.[1]

Within its narrowest limits the province was 200 miles in length from north to south, by 125 miles in breadth from east to west. At its greatest extent, excluding the tributary province of Orissa, it formed a square of about 200 miles on each side. At the time of Hiuen-Tsiang's visit in A.D. 639, he describes the kingdom as 6,000 *li*, or 1,000 miles, in circuit, an extent which could have been attained by the inclusion of . . . . the present districts of Chāndā, Nāgpur, and Seonī.[2]

The province, therefore, comprised the southern and eastern districts of the Central Provinces, of which the capital is now Nāgpur. The ancient capital was Śrīpura (Sirpur) on the

[1] Cunningham gives the erroneous date of A.D. 481 for Yayātikesarin, which I have omitted in my quotation with reference to Dr. Fleet's observation that "the date of Yayātikesarin, derived from the Orissa records, is altogether unreliable, and is too early by at least about four centuries" ("Gupta Inscriptions," p. 294).

[2] Cunningham, "Archaeological Reports," xvii, p. 68. The words which I have omitted are "the great district of Vākāṭaka on the west, comprising—." Cunningham supposed that the country Vākāṭaka is represented by the modern Bhāndak in the Chāndā district, but Dr. Fleet shows that this identification is a philological impossibility. He further shows that the adjectival name Vākāṭaka (derived from Vakāṭa) is properly the name of a people or tribe, and could only be used secondarily as the name of a country. The passages in which the name has been supposed to denote a country do not bear the construction put on them ("Gupta Inscriptions," p. 234).

Mahānadī in the Rāipur District. From this place Tivaradeva, "supreme lord of Kosala," issued a grant in or about the year A.D. 800.[1]

In order to attack Kosala, Samudra Gupta must have marched from Prayāga (Allahabad) across the hills and jungles of Riwā. The direct distance from Allahabad to Sirpur is about 280 miles. Nothing more is known about King Mahendra of Kosala, who was "captured and liberated."

2. Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra.

The name Mahākāntāra means "great forest or wilderness," and well describes the wilder parts of the Central Provinces, the modern districts of Baitūl, Cindwāra, etc., which are probably the region designated by the inscription, bordering on the west the kingdom of Kosala.

The name is equivalent to the term *mahāṭavi* used in the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* to designate a country in the southern division of India.

The "kings of all the forest countries" (*sarvāṭavikarāja*), who are alleged in the next line (l. 21) of the inscription to have "become servants" of Samudra Gupta, must evidently be distinguished from King Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra, who was "captured and then liberated."

These "kings of all the forest countries" may be identified with the rulers of the "eighteen forest kingdoms" (*aṣṭadaśāṭavirājya*) who were subject in A.D. 527 to the Mahārāja Saṁkṣobha of Ḍahāla, or Ḍāhala, the modern Bundelkhaṇḍ and Riwā. This region, which was adjacent to the home provinces of the empire, would naturally be permanently annexed, as indicated by the terms of the inscription, while

[1] "So far as I have been able to follow up the enquiry, all evidence seems to point to Sirpur (or Śrīpura), on the Mahānadī, as the ancient capital of the country. It is situated on the largest river in the province; it possesses the oldest inscriptions now existing in the country; it is said by the people to have been the capital of Babhruvāhan, one of the earliest known kings of Chedi; while its extensive ruins prove that it must at one time have been a large city." (Cunningham, op. cit., p. 70; Tivaradeva's grant is No. 81 of Fleet, p. 296.)

the emperor was content with the temporary subjugation of the more southern kingdom of Mahākāntāra.

No other mention of King Vyāghrarāja is known. The early coin of Vyāghra ("Coins Med. I.," pl. ii, 22) appears to come from Northern India. Cunningham described it with the coins of the Nāgas of Narwar, but, as Mr. Rodgers has pointed out, it seems more closely related to the coins of Sunet in the Lūdiāna District of the Pañjāb. (See "Catalogue of Coins in Lahore Museum," part iii, 130, for a coin of Vyāghra Sena from Sunet.)

3. Manṭarāja of Keraḷa.

The next name, Keraḷa, is a surprise, and its mention involves the assertion that the temporary conquests of Samudra Gupta extended to the extremity of the Indian Peninsula.

Keraḷa, which is placed by the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* in the southern division of India,[1] is the country now known as the Malabar Coast, the narrow strip of fertile land between the sea and the Western Ghāts. In its widest signification the name Keraḷa was applied to the whole territory extending from the Kangarote river, near Goa in North Kanara, to Cape Comorin (Kumārin). In its more restricted signification the name applied to the southern portion of the coast, now comprised in the Malabar District, and in the Cochin and Travancore States. Very little is known of the history of the country, and no connected story has come down to us.[2] No other mention of Manṭarāja has been discovered.

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, xxii, pp. 180–1.

[2] Sewell, "Lists of Antiquities, Madras," i, 240; ii, 195. Balfour, "Cyclopaedia of India," s.v. 'Keraḷa' and 'Malabar.'

The inscription actually and unmistakably reads *Kaurāḷaka-Manṭarāja*, but Dr. Fleet is probably right in emending Kaurāḷaka to Kairaḷaka in order to make sense. The mistake seems a purely clerical one ("Gupta Inscriptions," p. 7, note 1). Keraḷa is said to mean the land of cocoanuts. The rare southern ḷ is used in the inscription. The word Kaurāḷaka, if correct, would imply the existence of a country named Kurāḷa, and none such is known. It is, however, just possible that some region was named Kuraḷa fifteen centuries ago.

4. Mahendragiri of Piṣṭapura.

The identification of Piṣṭapura presents no difficulty. The kingdom of that name is certainly represented by the large *zamīndārī*, or chieftainship, of Piṭhāpuram in the Godāvarī District of the Madras Presidency. The chief town of the same name is still the residence of a Rāja, and is marked as Pittapooram on sheet 94 of the "Indian Atlas," in lat. 17° 6′, long. 82° 18′. The town is "very old, with abundance of sculptured buildings and other objects of interest. How old it may be is not as yet known, but an ancient inscription of A.D. 584 of the reign of Satyāśraya, the elder brother of Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana, who established the Eastern Chālukyan sovereignty, states that in that reign 'the fortress of Piṣṭapura was easily taken'" (*Ind. Ant.*, v, 67). A Buddhist *stūpa* has been discovered at Tīmavaram within the limits of the *zamīndārī* (*Ind. Ant.*, xii, 34).[1] Valuable inscriptions recording grants made in the Śaka years 1108, 1117, and 1124 (A.D. 1186, 1195, and 1202), and giving genealogies of the Eastern Chālukya and Vēṅgī kings, have been found on a pillar at Piṭhāpuram, but no trace of King Mahendragiri has been found.[2]

The construing of the passage in question has been the subject of some discussion, and I venture to adopt a rendering different from Dr. Fleet's. The words are—

> "*Kaurāḷaka* [leg. *Kairāḷaka*] *Manṭarāja;*
> *Paiṣṭapuraka Mahendragiri;*
> *Kauṭṭūraka Svāmidatta*, etc."

The above division of the words, which, of course, are written in the original without division or punctuation, is unquestionably the natural one, and in accordance with the balance of the composition.

But Dr. Fleet feels a difficulty about the name *Mahendragiri* (modern *Mahendragir*), because names of that form

[1] "Gupta Inscriptions," p. 7, note 2. Sewell, "Lists," ii, 262, and i, 23.
[2] "Progress Report of Archaeological Survey, Madras," Nos. 728, 729, dated Sept. 28, 1894.

Drs Fleet and Kielhorn will now accept my interpretation.

appear to be nowadays restricted to Gosāins, and it is improbable that a ruling chief would be a Gosāin. Dr. Fleet, therefore, prefers to do violence to the obvious construction of the text, and to link the word *giri* with the following *Kauṭṭūraka*, and to translate the passage thus:—

> "Manṭarāja of Keraḷa;
> Mahendra of Piṣṭapura;
> Svāmidatta of Koṭṭūra on the hill."

I submit that this construction cannot be right. The compound *Koṭṭūragiri* would be normal, but the compound *Girikoṭṭūra*, though not perhaps absolutely impossible, would be most unusual, and almost unprecedented. The derivative compound *Girikauṭṭūraka* is even more awkward as an adjective than the substantive *Girikoṭṭūra* is.

The difficulty raised by Dr. Fleet about accepting the compound *Mahendragiri* as the name of a king or ruling chief is in reality unsubstantial. In the first place, we are not entitled to assume that names ending in *giri* were already in the fourth century A.D. restricted to Gosāins; and in the second place, even if such names were then so restricted, a Gosāin may be a secular chieftain. One of the most famous personages in Bundelkhaṇḍ in the eighteenth century was the Gosāin, Rājā Himmat Bahādur. "Raja Himmat Bahādur, who at this time begins to play a conspicuous part in the history of Bundelkhand, was a Gosāin, who commanded a body of troops in the pay of S̲hujā-ud-daulah at the battle of Baksar in 1763. On the flight of the Vazīr, Himmat Bahādur entered Bundelkhand, and during the troubles that arose attained to considerable power." The treaty of S̲hāhpur, concluded on the 4th September, 1803, gave Rājā Himmat Bahādur an extensive territory with a revenue estimated at twenty-two lakhs of rupees.[1]

Nor was Himmat Bahādur the only powerful Gosāin chief of his time. Colonel Broughton, writing in 1809, relates

[1] "Bundelkhand Gazetteer" (Allahabad, 1874), pp. 30, 31.

that Sindhia's "army has received a considerable reinforcement . . . . by the arrival of a body of Gosaeens under Kumpta [Kāmtā] Gir. This chief succeeded to the command of the corps, which consists of nearly 1,500 men, chiefly horse, upon the death of Ram Gir, who died about a month ago. They were both *Chelas*, or disciples, of Kunchun Gir, the Chela of Himmut Bahadoor, a celebrated Gosaeen in the service of Shumsheer Bahadur, one of the chiefs of Boondelkhund. The Gosaeens are a religious order of Hindoo mendicants who attach themselves to the service of particular chiefs, and frequently, as in the case of Himmut Bahadoor, amass great wealth, and raise themselves into consequence. . . . . When they become numerous and wealthy, and enrol themselves as a military band in the service of some prince, their leader is termed *Muhunt*; they then retain but little of their original manner and appearance, distinguishing themselves alone by the *jutta*, or long matted hair folded like a turban on the head, and having some portion of their dress dyed of a kind of orange colour, called *geroo*, peculiar to their sect. As soldiers, they are accounted brave and faithful." [1]

The Nāga and Kanphaṭī Jogī ascetic warriors of Rājasthān, described by Tod and other writers, are well known. No difficulty, therefore, need be felt in believing that Samudra Gupta found a Gosāin chief in possession of the fortress of Piṣṭapura.

5. Svāmidatta of Koṭṭūra.

Koṭṭūra being, as Dr. Fleet observes, a very common Dravidian name, any Koṭṭūr of note might be accepted as the representative of the principality conquered by Samudra Gupta. Places with this name are found in the Tanjore, Malabar, and Belgām Districts,[2] and probably elsewhere also.

[1] "Letters from a Mahratta Camp," Constable's edition, p. 95.
[2] Sewell, "Lists," I, 249, 273; *Ind. Ant.*, xx, 69.

The commercial importance of the Coimbatore District in the early centuries of the Christian era, when the beryl mines of Padiyūr attracted the attention of Roman merchants, leads me to accept as most probable the suggestion of Dr. Fleet that the place referred to in the inscription is the Koṭṭūr in the Coimbatore District, marked in "Indian Atlas," sheet 61, lat. 10° 32′ N. and long. 77° 2′ E. Some ancient remains exist at this place, which is eight miles south by west of Pollāci, where Roman coins of the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius have been found. Beryls to the value of £1,200 sterling were obtained at Padiyūr in 1819–20.[1] No record of Svāmidatta has yet been discovered.

6. Damana of Eraṇḍapalla.

Neither Eraṇḍapalla nor its sovereign has yet been identified.

A place called Eḍapāḍi, with an old Śaiva temple, exists in the Salem District, which adjoins Coimbatore. Many places with names beginning with *Era-* or *Eḍa-* occur in the Salem and Malabar Districts.[2]

7. Viṣṇugōpa of Kāñcī.

Kāñcī is undoubtedly identical with the town well known under the modern corrupt name of Conjeeveram, which is situated in the Chingleput District, 43 miles south-west of Madras, and 20 miles west-north-west of Chingleput. It is one of the most ancient and sacred cities in India, and was the capital of the Pallava dynasty until the overthrow of that power by the Cholas in the eleventh century A.D.[3] The kingdom is called Drāviḍa by Hiuen-Tsiang, who visited it, and gives a favourable account of its inhabitants.[4]

[1] Sewell, "Lists," i, 214, 222, and references; Thurston, "Catalogue of Coins in Government Central Museum, Madras, No. 2," pp. 7–11, 21. Coins of Tiberius (A.D. 14–37) appear to be specially abundant.
[2] Sewell, "Lists," i, 202, and Index.
[3] Sewell, "Lists," i, 176; ii, 264.
[4] Beal, "Buddhist Records of the Western World," ii, 228.

Viṣṇugōpa is, no doubt, one of the early Pallava kings, and is probably identical with the Pallava king Viṣṇugōpa, or Viṣṇugōpavarmā, who was one of the remote ancestors of Nandivarmā.[1] Viṣṇugōpa may possibly be identical with Viṣṇuvarmā, who is mentioned in an inscription dating probably from the fifth century A.D. as having been killed by a Kadamba king.[2]

8. Nīlarāja of Avamukta.

I am not able to offer even a conjecture as to the position of Avamukta. The word in Sanskrit means "unyoked, taken off."

9. Hastivarman of Veṅgī.

The position of the small kingdom of Veṅgī is known beyond doubt. The kingdom ordinarily extended for about 120 miles along the coast of the Bay of Bengal between the Kṛṣṇa (Kistna) and Godāvarī rivers, and corresponded to the modern Godāvarī (Machlipatnam) District with part of the Rājamahendri District. It is believed that the Veṅgī territory did not extend very far inland. The capital was situated five or six miles NNW. from Ellore (Elūr), a short distance from the Kolar (Colair) lake, and is now represented by the villages Pedda (or Greater) Vegī and Chinna (or Lesser) Vegī, where there are evidences of extensive ancient buildings.[3]

The ruling dynasty appears to have been a branch of the great Pallava family or clan which also ruled at Kāñcī. At the time of Samudra Gupta's incursion the Veṅgī kingdom was apparently independent, but about a century later it seems to have been a dependency of the more considerable Kāñcī State. The ruling families both of Kāñcī and Veṅgī commonly used names ending in Varmā

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, v, 50; "South-Indian Inscriptions," ii, 343.
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, vi, 22, 30, note.
[3] Balfour's "Cyclopaedia," *s.v.* Vengi. Sewell, "Lists," i, 36; ii, 239.

or Varman, and were probably connected by blood. The Hastivarmā of Samudra Gupta's inscriptions may well be identical, as Dr. Hultzsch suggests, with Attivarmā, of the family of King Kandara, who made an early copperplate grant, and was evidently a Pallava. Atti is the Tamil equivalent of Hastin. The inscription of Attivarmā was obtained at Goraṇṭta in the Guṇṭūr District south of the Kṛṣṇa river. From the same neighbourhood was obtained a still earlier grant made in the reign of Vijayakhandavamma (Vijayaskandavarmā), who probably belonged to the same dynasty. A grant made by King Vijayanandivarmā, son of King Candavarmā, of the Śālaṅkāyana family, expressly purports to have been issued from the victorious city of Veṅgī. This grant is supposed to date from the fourth century. Hastivarmā was probably grandfather, or great-grandfather, of Vijayanandivarmā. The kingdom of Veṅgī seems at times to have extended to south of the Kṛṣṇa river.[1]

10. Ugrasena of Pālakka.

Though the identity of the kingdom of Pālakka has not previously been recognized, there can be no doubt that the ancient kingdom is now represented by the division of Pālghāt, in the south of the Malabar District, the name of which is more accurately spelled Pālakkāḍu. It was also called Neḍum-Puṟaiyur-nāḍu, or, more shortly, Puṟai.[2]

The chief town of the division, Pālghātcherry, is situated in lat. 10° 45′ 49″ N. and long. 76° 41′ 48″ E., at a height of 800 feet above the sea, in the only gap in the line of mountains between the Tāptī river and Cape Comorin. The Pālghāt Ghāts extend southward a distance of about 170 miles almost to the Cape.[3]

The identification of Pālakka is of interest as confirming the other statements in the inscription concerning the southern extent of Samudra Gupta's temporary conquests.

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, v, 175; ix, 99–103.
[2] Hultzsch, "On the Grant of Bhaskara Ravivarma": *Ind. Ant.*, xx, 285, 289, 291.
[3] Balfour, "Cyclopaedia," *s.v.* 'Palghatcherry.'

11. Kuvera of Devarāṣṭra.

The kingdom of Devarāṣṭra has not yet been identified. Perhaps the name may be an equivalent for Deogiri, the famous fortress known to Muhammadan historians as Daulatābād (lat. 19° 57′ N. and long. 75° 18′ E.), which, by reason of its commanding position and natural strength, had been from time immemorial the principal stronghold of the Rājas of Mahārāṣṭra. It is possible, indeed, that Devarāṣṭra may be a synonym for Mahārāṣṭra—the "kingdom of the gods," for the "great kingdom."

Deogiri is situated in the Nizam's dominions, about twelve miles from Aurangābād, and nearly thirty miles north of the Godāvarī river.

12. Dhanaṁjaya of Kusthalapura.

The position of Kusthalapura is not certainly known unless the suggestion may be accepted that this name is an abbreviation, either accidental or intentional, of Kuśasthalapura, a name of the holy city Dvārikā, at the extremity of the Gujarāt peninsula, in lat. 22° 14′ 20″ N. and long. 69° 5′ E.

"Ānarta is known from the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*. It corresponds to modern Kāṭhiāvāḍ. Its capital was Kuśasthalī, the modern Dvārkā."[1]

The foregoing detailed examination of the southern conquests of Samudra Gupta leaves on my mind no doubt that the emperor really effected the temporary subjugation of all the leading chiefs and kings of the peninsula, inland and along both coasts, as far as Cape Comorin (Kumārin).

His southern victorious march finds an exact parallel in the expeditions of Malik Kāfūr, the adventurous general of

[1] Bhagvānlāl Indraji, "The Inscription of Rudradāman at Junāgaḍh" (*Ind. Ant.*, vii, 259). Benfey ("Dictionary"), referring to Mahābhārata 2, 614, notes that the name occurs both in the neuter and feminine forms.

For the omission of the syllable, compare "Kuraghara, which appears five times, I would identify with the village of Kuraraghara . . . . Kuraraghara is, of course, the etymologically correct form of the name, and Kuraghara a corruption by a kind of haplophony, which occurs more frequently in geographical and other names." (Bühler, "Inscriptions of Sanchi Stūpa," *Epigraphia Indica*, ii, 96.)

'Alā-ud-dīn, in A.D. 1309–10, who took the fort of Warangal, marched by Deogiri, crossed the Godāvarī at Paithan, and penetrated, after a great battle, to Dvāra Samudra, the capital of Karnāta, which he captured. He reduced the whole of the eastern side of the peninsula, including Ma'ābar, on the sea-coast, as far south as Rāmesvar, or Adam's Bridge, opposite Ceylon, where he built a mosque, which was still standing when Farishta wrote. He then returned with vast golden treasures to Delhi.[1] Like Samudra Gupta, he might have boasted that he had "captured and then liberated" the kings of the south.

SECTION III.—THE KINGS OF THE NORTH.

Having completed his enumeration of the temporary conquests in the south, our chronicler returns to the subject of the more permanent conquests in Northern India, which had already been briefly touched upon in the poetical introduction to the inscription.

In line 21 the writer records that the emperor "abounded in majesty that had been increased by violently exterminating

Rudradeva,
Matila,
Nāgadatta,
Candravarman,
Gaṇapati Nāga,
Nāgasena,
Acyuta,
Nandin,
Balavarman,

and many other kings of the land of Āryāvarta."

The name Āryāvarta is well known to be the equivalent of the modern Hindūstān, or India north of the Narmadā river. The language of the record plainly indicates that

[1] Elphinstone, 5th edition, p. 396.

in this vast region the kings named were thoroughly vanquished, and that their dominions were included in the conqueror's empire.

Unfortunately, the historical documents for the early history of Northern India are so few and meagre that it is at present impossible to identify most of the kings named in the inscription. The names of their kingdoms are not stated.

Acyuta was probably, for the reasons given above (ante, p. 362), a king of Ahichatra in Pañchāla, the modern Rohilkhand. Nāgasena is mentioned along with Acyuta in the early part of the inscription, and the two princes may be supposed to have been neighbours. Nāgasena may perhaps have been a member of the same dynasty as Vīrasena of earlier date, whose coins are tolerably common in the North-Western Provinces and the Pañjāb.[1] Nāgadatta may belong to the same dynasty as Rāmadatta and Puruṣadatta, whose coins are obscurely connected with those of the Northern Satraps.[2]

Candravarman is probably the Mahārāja of that name whose fame is preserved by a brief inscription on the rock at Susunia in the Bānkurā District of Bengal, seventeen miles SSW. from the Rāṇīgañj railway station.[3]

Concerning the identity of Rudradeva, Matila, Nandin, and Balavarman, I am at present unable to offer even a conjecture.

The only name among the nine names in the list which can be identified with certainty is that of Gaṇapati Nāga. Cunningham has shown that this prince must be one of the dynasty of seven or nine Nāgas, whose capital was Narwar, between Gwāliār and Jhānsī. Although the coins of Gaṇapati, which have been found in thousands, do not bear the word Nāga, there can be no doubt that they

[1] "Coins of Ancient India," p. 89; "Catalogue of Coins in Lahore Museum," part iii, 128; "Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum," iii, 32.

[2] "Coins of Ancient India," p. 88; J.R.A.S. for July, 1894, p. 541; "Catalogue of Coins in Lahore Museum," iii, 122; "Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum," iii, 31.

[3] Proc. A.S.B. for 1895, p. 177.

were issued by a member of the Nāga dynasty. Their practical identity in type and style with the coins which bear the names of the Mahārājas Skanda Nāga, Bṛhaspati Nāga, and Deva Nāga leaves no room for scepticism. The coins of all these Nāga kings are found at Narwar.[1] The language of the inscription which describes Gaṇapati as one of the kings who were "violently exterminated" induces me to consider him the last of his dynasty.

The "kings of the forest countries" (l. 21), who were compelled to become the servants of the conqueror, and are associated in the text with the "kings of Āryāvarta," were no doubt the chiefs of the Goṇḍs and other wild tribes north of the Narmadā. To this day there is a large extent of forest country north of the Narmadā in Bundelkhaṇḍ, Central India, and the Central Provinces.

The position of the southern forest kingdom of Mahākāntāraka has been discussed above (ante, p. 366).

SECTION IV.—THE FRONTIER KINGDOMS.

Having completed the enumeration of the kings of the North and the kings of the South, the author of the inscription proceeds, in line 22, to extol the glories of his master as exhibited in the relations of the imperial power with the kings and tribes outside, but immediately adjoining, the frontiers of the empire.

He states that the frontier kings of Samataṭa, Ḍavāka, Kāmarūpa, Nepāla, Kartṛpura, and of other countries; and the tribes known by the names of Mālava, Ārjunāyana, Yaudheya, Mādraka, Ābhīra, Prārjuna, Sanakānīka, Kāka, and others, fully gratified the sovereign's commands by obedience, by coming to perform homage, and by the payment of all kinds of taxes.[2]

These names will now be discussed in order.

[1] Cunningham, "Reports," ii, 307–310; "Coins of Mediaeval India," pp. 21–4.

[2] Dr. Fleet (p. 14, note 1) needlessly, as it seems to me, suggests that an ambiguity lurks in the term "frontier kings" (*pratyanta-nṛpati*). I think it plain that the meaning is that which has been adopted in the text.

1. The Kingdom of Samataṭa.

The *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* places this country in the eastern division of India. The name means "the country of which the rivers have flat and level banks of equal height on both sides," and denotes Lower Bengal.[1] The Ganges and other great Indian rivers in the upper parts of their courses usually have a high bank on one side, that is to say, on the concave side of each curve.[2] The name Samataṭa is thus descriptive of a marked difference between the appearance presented by the country in the swamps of deltaic Bengal and that presented by the drier regions of Bihār and the North-Western Provinces.

The same name, Samataṭa, is used by Hiuen Tsiang in the seventh century A.D., who describes the country as being about 500 miles (3,000 *li*) in circuit, and bordering on the great sea. It lay 1,200 or 1,300 *li* (more than 200 miles) south of Kāmarūpa, and about 900 *li* (150 miles) east of the country of Tāmralipti.[3]

These indications prove that the kingdom occupied the delta of the Ganges and Brahmaputra, of which the Jessore District forms the central portion, and in which Calcutta and Dacca are now included. The main stream of the Ganges, which now separates the Patna and Farīdpur Districts, must have been the northern boundary.

In the sixteenth century this region was known as Bhāti, and the chief town was Bikrampur, in the Dacca District.[4]

The Chinese pilgrim mentions that the capital city was between three and four miles (20 *li*) in circumference, but unfortunately does not mention its name, or indicate its position with precision. The capital was probably situated on the coast, somewhere on the tract now known as the Sunderbans. The southern portion of this tract has long

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, xxii, 169.
[2] Rennell, "A Bengal Atlas," p. 3.
[3] Beal, "Records," ii, 199, 200.
[4] Cunningham, "Reports," xv, 145.

been a pestilential and almost impenetrable jungle, but old Portuguese maps show that the early European adventurers found five cities existing in it, and surrounded by extensive cultivation.[1]

2. The Kingdom of Ḍavāka.

The situation of this kingdom is unknown, but the insertion of the name between the names of Samataṭa and Kāmarūpa naturally suggests the inference that Ḍavāka lay somewhere on the north-eastern frontier. Possibly the kingdom actually lay between Samataṭa and Kāmarūpa, and corresponded to the modern districts of Bogra (Bagrahā), Dinājpur, and Rājṣāhi. The mere position of the name in the list must not, however, be allowed too much significance. We have seen that in the list of the kingdoms of the south the names are arranged without reference to their order in geographical position.

But the border king are I think arranged order.

Dr. Fleet's suggestion (in Index, *s.v.*) that Ḍavāka may be another form of Dacca, or Ḍāka, is inadmissible. The correct spelling of Dacca is Ḍhākā (ढाका).

3. The Kingdom of Kāmarūpa.

Although, as is well known, the kingdom of Kāmarūpa corresponds roughly with the province of Assam, it must be remembered that the ancient kingdom and the modern province do not exactly coincide. The kingdom sometimes extended as far west as the Kāratoya river and Lāl Bāzār in the Rangpur District of Bengal, and included the State of Kūch Bihār, Tiparā, and parts of Maimansingh, as well as the territory now known as the Province of Assam. The ancient name is still preserved in the name of the district of Kāmrūp, in the central portion of Assam, which lies between lat. 25° 50′ and 26° 53′ N., and between long. 90° 40′ and 92° 2′ E.[2]

[1] Balfour, "Cyclopaedia," *s.v.* 'Sunderbans.'
[2] Martin, "Eastern India," iii, 403, 626 seqq.; Balfour, "Cyclopaedia," *s.v.* 'Assam,' 'Kāmarūpa,' and 'Kāmrūp.'

Hiuen Tsiang, three centuries later than Samudra Gupta, treats "the great river," that is, the Brahmaputra, as the western boundary of Kāmarūpa. Having described the kingdom of Puṇḍra-vardhana, he gives details of certain buildings in the neighbourhood of the capital, and proceeds—"from this, going east 900 *li* or so, crossing the great river, we come to the country of Kia-mo-lu-po (Kāmarūpa)."[1]

It is, of course, impossible to be certain, whether or not the kingdom of Kāmarūpa in the time of Samudra Gupta included the Rangpur territory west of "the great river"; but I consider it probable that this great river, the Brahmaputra, was the natural frontier of the empire, which must have included the minor kingdoms or principalities known to Hiuen Tsiang as Puṇḍra-vardhana, Karṇasuvarṇa, and Tāmralipti. The first of these certainly included part of the Dinājpur District,[2] the capital of the second was at Raṅgamāṭī in the Murshīdābād District,[3] and the capital of the third is represented by the decayed port of Tamlūk in the Midnāpur District.[4]

4. The Kingdom of Nepāla.

The kingdom of Nepāla corresponds roughly with the modern kingdom of Nepāl or Nīpāl, but it is impossible to say what its exact boundaries were in the days of Samudra Gupta.

We know that six centuries earlier the lowlands, or Tarāi, at the foot of the hills, now included in Nepāl, formed part of the dominions of Aśoka, who personally visited that region and erected pillars as memorials of his tour. It is probable that even the valley of Nepāl was brought under the sceptre of Aśoka.[5]

[1] Beal, "Records," ii, 195.
[2] The references are given by Beal, "Records," ii, 194, note.
[3] J.A.S.B., vol. xxii (1853), p. 281; ibid., part 1, vol. lxii (1893), pp. 315–325.
[4] Beal, "Records," ii, 200, note. Fa-hian stayed two years at Tamlūk, and sailed thence for Ceylon (ch. xxxvii).
[5] Aśoka pillars have been recently discovered at Nigliva, the site of Kapilavastu, and Rummindeī, the site of the Lumbinī Garden, the birthplace of Gautama Buddha, north of the Bastī District. There is a tradition that the valley of

But his vast empire could not be held together by weaker hands, and in the time of Samudra Gupta the valley must certainly have been included in the frontier kingdom of Nepāl, which lay outside the empire. The imperial boundary probably included the whole Tarāi, and ran along the outermost range of hills.

Hiuen Tsiang apparently did not personally visit Nepāla. He describes the kingdom as lying among the Snowy Mountains, and says that a traveller comes to it by "crossing some mountains and entering a valley."[1] This phrase shows that he did not consider the Tarāi, or lowlands, as belonging to the mountain kingdom, and I think we may safely assume that Samudra Gupta's dominions extended to the natural frontier of the lower hills.

The kingdom of Nepāla is not mentioned by Fa-hian.

5. The Kingdom of Kartṛpura.

Possibly Kartarpur in Jalandhar.

Nothing is known positively concerning the situation of this kingdom, which does not appear to be elsewhere mentioned. It may have lain in the Western Himālayas, and have corresponded roughly to the modern Almora, Gaṛhwāl, and Kamāon.

The enumeration of the frontier kingdoms seems to proceed in regular geographical order, beginning with Samataṭa on the coast of the Bay of Bengal, and proceeding northwards through Ḍavāka to Nepāla, and thence westwards to Kartṛpura.

The western provinces of the empire certainly marched with the territories of the tribes, which will be considered in the next section. The kingdoms of the forest kings must have formed to a large extent the southern frontier, the rest of which seems to have been formed by the territories of certain minor tribes. The eastern frontier

Nepāl was included in the dominions of Aśoka. (Führer, "Progress Report for 1895," p. 2; Oldfield, "Sketches in Nipal," pp. 246–9.) Other pillars are believed to exist north of the Gōrakhpur District.

[1] Beal, "Records," ii, 80.

has been accounted for; and the kingdom of Nepāl must have covered a large portion of the northern frontier. It is, consequently, difficult to find any possible position for Kartṛpura, a frontier kingdom, other than that suggested.

SECTION V.—THE FRONTIER TRIBES.

The frontier tribes who obeyed the emperor's order and performed homage are enumerated as follows:—

1. Mālava,
2. Ārjunāyana,
3. Yaudheya,
4. Mādraka,
5. Ābhīra,
6. Prārjuna,
7. Sanakānīka,
8. Kāka, and
9. Kharaparika.

These names will now be discussed in order.

1. The Mālava Tribe.

The *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* correctly classes the Mālavas in the northern division of India.[1]

The tribe has given its name to a province which still retains it. The modern Mālwā is the extensive region bordered on the east by the Bundelkhaṇḍ districts and part of the Central Provinces, on the north by parts of the North-Western Provinces and Rājputāna, on the west by Rājputāna, and on the south by the Narmadā river. The name is, in fact, used loosely as an equivalent for Central India, that is to say, the group of native states, comprising Gwāliār, Indūr, Bhopāl, and many others, which

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, xxii, 184.

are under the control of the Governor-General's Agent for Central India. In this sense Mālwā is distinct from Rājputāna, which consists of the group of states under the control of the Agent for Rājputāna.

But this distinction is an arbitrary, administrative one, based on the political arrangements rendered necessary by the chaos of the eighteenth century. In ancient times the Mālava country comprised a large part of the vast region now known as Rājputāna, and the Mālava tribe can be traced far to the north. The Mālava section of the Sikhs is located east of the Satlaj, and the Viṣṇu Purāṇa mentions the Mālavas as dwelling among the Paripātra (or Pariyātra) mountains, which seem to be the same as the Rājputāna or Āravalli hills. These hills stretch across Rājputāna, and terminate at Delhi. There is, therefore, warrant for supposing that the term Mālwā, or the Mālava country, may at times have been understood to comprise even Northern Rājputāna. The Mālava coins have been found in vast numbers at Nāgar in the Jaipur State, and this town must certainly have been included in the Mālava territory.

But the Mālava country, even in ancient times, appears to have been more ordinarily understood to mean approximately the region which still retains the name of Mālwā, with the southern parts of Rājputāna.

In this region Ujjain and Besnagar were the principal cities. Ujjain, now in the Gwāliār State (lat. 23° 11′ 10″ N. and long. 75° 51′ 45″ E.), is one of the seven sacred cities of the Hindus, and has been famous from the dawn of Indian history. Besnagar, or Wessanagara, is the ruined city adjoining Bhilsa in the Bhopāl State (lat. 23° 39′ N. and long. 77° 50′ E.). The famous topes of Sānci are in the neighbourhood. Cunningham considers that Besnagar was certainly the capital of Eastern, as Ujjain was the capital of Western, Mālava.[1]

The coins to which allusion has been made deserve some

[1] "Coins of Ancient India," p. 99.

further notice here, because they throw a faint light on the mention of the Mālava tribe in the inscription.[1]

These coins are found chiefly in the country about a hundred miles north of Ujjain, in Southern Rājputāna, about Ajmer, Tonk, and Chitor. Mr. Carlleyle obtained several thousands of them at the ancient city of Nāgar in the Jaipur State, forty-five miles SSE. of Tānk. They are almost all very small, ranging in weight from four to nine grains, and are evidently intended to be the sixteenth and thirty-second parts of the Indian *paṇa* of 146 grains.[2] Some are circular and some are square. Their historical value lies in the legend which occurs on many of them, and is either simply *Mālavāhṇa*, "of the Mālavas," or *Mālavāhṇa jaya*, "victory to the Mālavas," the genitive being in Prākrit (Hoernle).

This legend shows that the coinage is that of a tribe, not of a kingdom, and furnishes an interesting confirmation of Hariṣena's reference to the Mālavas as a frontier tribe. The types of the coins are very various, and some present other legends, which have not yet been interpreted.

Another confirmation of the fact that the Mālavas were organized under some form of tribal constitution, and not governed by monarchs, is afforded by other inscriptions.

The Mandasor (Dasor) inscription of Yaśodharman and Viṣṇu Vardhana is dated in the year 589 "from the supremacy of the tribal constitution of the Mālavas," equivalent to A.D. 533–4.[3]

Mandasor is the chief town in the district of the same name in Sindhia's Dominions (Gwāliār State) in Western Mālwā, and is situated on the river Śiwanā, in lat. 24° 3′ N. and long. 75° 8′ E., about eighty-five miles north-west of Ujjain.

[1] The references for the coins are: Cunningham, "Reports," vi, 165, 174 seqq.; xiv, pp. 149–151, pl. xxxi, Nos. 19–25; "Coins of Ancient India," pp. 95, 96; "Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum" (Rodgers), part iii, pp. 16–27, pl. ii. A few of the coins classed by the Catalogue as Mālava are really Nāga coins, e.g. Nos. 12,461 and 12,462 on page 26.

[2] 146 grains seem to be the true weight of the *paṇa*, rather than 144, the figure adopted by Cunningham.

[3] This is Fleet's interpretation of the words *gaṇasthiti-vaśāt*, but Kielhorn takes them as simply meaning "according to the reckoning of."

A later inscription at Gyārispur, twenty-four miles north-east of Bhīlsa, is dated in the "Mālava era"; and one from Kaṇaswa, in South-Eastern Rājputāna, is dated in the era of "the Mālava lords" (*Mālaveśānām*).[1]

Everybody now recognizes the fact that the era indicated by these various phrases is identical with that more familiarly known as the era of Vikrama or Vikramāditya, roughly equivalent to B.C. 57. The earliest known dates in this era under the later name (V.S. 428 to 898) all occur in inscriptions from Eastern Rājputāna, chiefly that part of Eastern Rājputāna which borders on, or is included in, Mālava. This fact indicates that the era, under both names, really originated in the Mālava country, which is not surprising when it is remembered that Ujjain was the principal seat of Hindu astronomical learning, and the meridian from which longitude was calculated.

All attempts to connect the establishment of the era with any definite historical event have been hitherto unsuccessful, and scholars are now agreed that no historical foundation exists for the common belief that the era was founded by a king Vikramāditya. We cannot feel any confidence that the date B.C. 57 is that of any special crisis in the history of the Mālava tribe. Professor Kielhorn holds that the inscriptions which connect the era with the Mālavas merely "show that from about the fifth to the ninth century this era was by poets believed to be specially used by the princes and people of Mālava, while another era or other eras were known to be current in other parts of India." But the inscriptions are certainly good to prove the persistence of a tradition of the existence of the Mālavas as a tribe or nation.

The rivers Betwa and Jumna may be fairly assumed as the eastern boundary of the frontier Mālava tribe, and as the western boundary of Samudra Gupta's empire. The comparatively small province occupied by the Ābhīras, who

[1] These inscriptions are discussed by Fleet, "Gupta Inscriptions," Intr. p. 67; pp. 79, 150; and by Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.*, xx, 404.

will be discussed presently, seems to have formed an *enclave* in the extensive territory of the Mālavas.

2. The Ārjuṇāyana Tribe.

The position of the territory of this tribe is not known with accuracy. The tribe is grouped in the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* with the Madras, Yaudheyas, and other tribes of Northern India, but the mere collocation of names in the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* lists does not, as Cunningham erroneously supposed that it did, give any information as to the relative position of the tribes named.

A few very rare coins with the legend Ārjuṇāyanām, "of the Ārjuṇāyanas," in early characters have been found. Only two or three specimens are known, of which the exact findspot does not seem to be recorded. The type is related to that of the Northern Satrap coins, and the Ārjuṇāyana country may reasonably be regarded as corresponding to the region between the Mālava and Yaudheya territories, or, roughly speaking, the Bharatpur and Alwar States, west of Agra and Mathurā, the principal seat of the Northern Satraps.[1] The frontier of Samudra Gupta's empire at this point appears to have been practically the line which now separates the British districts from the Native States.

3. The Yaudheya Tribe.

Whether by accident or design, the enumeration of the frontier tribes by Hariṣena appears to be made with some regard to their order in geographical position. He begins with the Mālavas at the south-west frontier, proceeds northwards to the Ārjuṇāyanas, and goes on in the same direction to the Yaudheyas and the Mādrakas. He then

[1] One of the coins is very clearly engraved in Prinsep's "Essays" (Thomas), pl. xliv, 2. Cunningham had another specimen, which is badly figured in "Coins of Ancient India," pl. viii, 20. A specimen in the cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal may be that figured by Prinsep.

seems to return to the south-west corner, and beginning with the Ābhīra tribe (No. 5), to proceed eastward along the southern frontier.

We have seen that although the list of southern kingdoms is erratic, the enumeration of the frontier kingdoms appears to be made in the order of geographical position. The portion of the inscription now under discussion is in prose, and its author, being untrammelled by the difficulties of verse, would naturally follow in his mind the frontier lines when enumerating the frontier kingdoms and tribes.

The position of the Yaudheya tribe is known with sufficient accuracy. The name, which is Sanskrit, means 'warrior,' and is mentioned by Pāṇini (*circa* B.C. 300) as that of a tribe in the Pañjāb.[1] It still survives in the form of Johiya-bār, the name of the tract on the border of the Bahāwalpur State, along both banks of the Satlaj.[2] The findspots of the coins, which are all of copper or brass, with one exception, indicate that the extensive territories of the tribe comprised the southern portion of the Pañjāb, including the Sikh States and the northern parts of Rājputāna. Either the Biās or the Rāvi river was probably the north-western boundary of the tribal territory, which abutted on the territory of the Mādrakas in the Central Pañjāb. The cities of Lāhor, Bahāwalpur, Bīkanīr, Lūdiāna, and Delhi roughly indicate the limits of the tribal position.

The tribe appears to have been of an active and aggressive temper. The Satrap Rudradāmā of Surāṣṭrā, in A.D. 150 (72 Śaka), records that "he annihilated the Yaudheyas, who had become arrogant and disobedient in consequence of their receiving from all Kṣatriyas the title of 'the heroes.'"[3]

A quantity of votive tablets bearing the proud legend "of the Yaudheyas, who know how to devise victory," was found a few years ago at Sunit in the Lūdiāna

[1] Bhandarkar in *Ind. Ant.*, i, 23.
[2] Cunningham, "Reports," xiv, 140.
[3] "*sarvva-kṣatrāviṣkṛta-vīra śabda*" (*Ind. Ant.*, vii, 262).

District. These seem to date from the third century A.D., and to be contemporary with the coins of the Warrior Type.

The coins occur in several divergent types, and certainly extend over a period of several centuries. Their dates may be roughly defined as extending from B.C. 100 to A.D. 400. The tribe must have been included within the limits of the extended empire of Candra Gupta II, the son and successor of Samudra Gupta, and the tribal coinage probably then ceased.

One class of coins, which may be conveniently called the "Warrior Type," is closely related to the coinage of the great Kuṣān kings Kaniṣka and Huviṣka, and exhibits the legend *Jaya Yaudheya gaṇasya*, "victory of the Yaudheya tribe." These coins are designed and executed with remarkable boldness and skill, and seem to date for the most part from the third century A.D. Some may possibly be as late as the time of Samudra Gupta. Certain coins of this class have in the obverse field the syllable *dvi* (apparently a contraction of *dvitiya*, 'second'), or, more rarely, the syllable *tṛ* (a contraction for *tṛtiya*, 'third'). These syllables are usually interpreted to mean that the coins in question were issued respectively by the second and third sections of the tribe.[1] The similar coins without any numeral may have been struck by the first section.

Another class of coins, more rudely executed and perhaps later in date, exhibit on the obverse the six-headed effigy of the god Kārtikeya, and the name of a chief, Svāmī Brāhmana Yaudheya.

The earliest coins are small brass pieces, with an elephant on one side and a humped bull on the other, accompanied by Buddhist symbols.[2] Probably the tribe, in common with the rest of India, gradually abandoned Buddhism and reverted to orthodox Hinduism.

[1] Bühler agrees with Cunningham in this interpretation ("Origin of Brahmi Alphabet," p. 46).

[2] The best published account of the Yaudheya coins is that in Cunningham's "Reports," xiv, 139–145. The account in "Coins of Ancient India," pp. 75–9, is more confused, but the plate in that work is better than that of the "Reports." I possess a fine set of Yaudheya coins. The seals, or votive tablets, are described by Hoernle in Proc. A.S.B. for 1884, p. 137.

4. The Mādraka Tribe.

The Mādraka tribe is plainly the same as that called Madraka or Madra in the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*[1] and the *Mahābhārata*. The capital of the country was the famous city Sangala, or Sākala, the Sāgala of the Milinda Paṇha. The tribe seems also to have been known by the names Jārtika and Bāhika. The tribal territory is still known as *Madra-deś*, the country between the Rāvi and Canāb rivers. According to some authorities, *Madra-deś* extended on the west to the Jhelam and on the east to the Biās river. In the narrower signification the country so named is equivalent to the Rīchnā Duāb only. In the wider signification it comprises also the Bārī Duāb between the Biās and Rāvi, and the Caj Duāb between the Canāb and Jhelam. The Mādrakas were, therefore, the immediate neighbours of the Yaudheyas, and occupied the central parts of the Pañjāb.

Cunningham's identification of the Mādraka capital, Sangala or Sākala, with a hill called Sangla Tibba in the Gujrānwāla District, was undoubtedly erroneous. The true site of the city is probably either Chunioṭ or Shāhkoṭ in the Jhang District, east of the Rāvi, in the Bārī Duāb. The Biās, therefore, may be accepted as the boundary between the Yaudheyas east of that river and the Mādrakas to the west.[2]

The Jalandhar Duāb, between the Satlaj and the upper course of the Biās, was probably included in Samudra Gupta's empire, of which the Biās would have been the frontier. The Mādrakas would thus be in the strict sense a frontier tribe.

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, xxii, 183.

[2] Cunningham's arguments in favour of his identification of Sākala with the petty hill Sangala Tibba will be found in "Reports," ii, 192–200. These arguments were avowedly opposed to the data given both by the historians of Alexander and by Hiuen Tsiang, and have recently been conclusively refuted by Mr. C. J. Rodgers (Proc. A.S.B., June, 1896). I am indebted to that gentleman for the information that either Chunioṭ or Shāhkoṭ is probably the true site of Sākala. The formidable White Hun chief Mihirakula is known to have resided at Sākala, and his coins are numerous at both Chunioṭ and Shāhkoṭ. I possess a good set collected by Mr. Rodgers at those places.

Cunningham quotes Lassen for the mention of the Madra tribe in the Mahābhārata.

5. The Ābhīra Tribe.

The name of the Ahīr caste is the phonetic equivalent of Ābhīra, and this caste is so widely spread and numerous in Northern and Western India that the correct location of Samudra Gupta's frontier tribe appears at first sight a matter of some difficulty. But the fact that the tribal territory lay on the frontier of the empire gives the clue to the solution of the problem.

A very early inscription at Nāsik, NNE. of Bombay, mentions an Ābhīra king, and we know that the peninsula of Gujarāt was in ancient times largely occupied by Ahīrs.[1] Ptolemy's province of Abiria was on the western coast, and the country between the Tāptī river and Devagaṛh was known as Abhīra.[2] But the Ābhīras of the Bombay districts lay too far westward to be counted as a frontier tribe in the time of Samudra Gupta, whose south-western frontier appears to have been the river Betwa, and these western Ābhīras cannot be the tribe referred to.

The small tract called Ahraura, near Chanār in the Mirzāpur District of the North-Western Provinces, cannot be the region in Hariṣeṇa's mind. That tract, an unimportant *pargana*, was according to tradition originally occupied by Kols. Except the name there is nothing to connect it with the Ābhīras.[3] Moreover, the whole of the Mirzāpur District must have been included within the limits of the empire.

One region, and one only, exactly suits the conditions of the problem, and can be identified with confidence as the seat of the Ābhīra frontier tribe in the days of Samudra Gupta. This region lies west of the Betwa river, and

[1] No. 12, "Buddhist Cave Temples" (Archaeological Survey of Western India, vol. iv), p. 104, pl. liii. This inscription of the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena may date from about A.D. 200.

[2] Quoted in Elliot's "Races of the North-Western Provinces" (ed. Beames), s.v. 'Ahīr.'

[3] See Beames, op. cit., and the Gazetteer of the Mirzāpur District, s.v. 'Ahraura.'

There is also an Ahirwara in the Punjab.

still bears the name of Ahīrwāra. The Ahīrs dwelling in this region still occupy a prominent position. Cunningham's description of Ahīrwāra is as follows:—

"With the accession of the Moguls, the domains of the Khichis were largely extended on the east by the accession of the two districts of Jharkon and Bahādurgarh, the former lying to the west and the latter to the east of the Sindh river. These two districts originally formed part of *the ancient Hindu province of Ahīrwāra, which extended from Ranod on the Ahirpat river to Sironj on the south, and from the Pārbati river on the west to the Betwa on the east.* Within these limits the Ahīrs still form the mass of the population, and the land is chiefly held by Ahīr zemindars. During Jay Singh's long war with the Mahrattas, the Ahīrs asserted their independence, and were not subdued until Baptiste was sent against them."[1]

The province of Ahīrwāra thus described lies south of the British District of Jhānsī, and north of Bhilsa, being, for the most part, included in Sindia's Dominions or the Gwāliār State.

I think no doubt can be felt that the frontier tribe of Ābhīras in the reign of Samudra Gupta occupied this province of Ahīrwāra, and formed, as already observed, an *enclave*, or inset, in the extensive Mālava country.

Sir Walter Elliot, a very competent authority, regarded the Ahīrs as the northern section of a great pastoral race, formerly holding an important place in the political constitution of India, of which the southern section was known as the widely-spread Kurumbar race.

For some hundred years before the seventh century, a period which includes the age of Samudra Gupta, the country, from the base of the tableland to the Pālar and Pennār rivers, was occupied by the Kurumbars. They appear to have formed a sort of Confederate State, under chiefs of their own, each of whom resided in a fortified stronghold, having a district of greater or less extent under

[1] Cunningham, "Reports," ii, 300. The italics are mine.

its jurisdiction, the largest of which districts was recognized as the head of the Union. Each of these twenty-four districts (*koṭṭams*) was further subdivided into lesser jurisdictions called *nāḍus* and *naṭṭams*. The tribe was successful in commerce both by land and sea, and skilled in mining, and produced notable works in literature, architecture, and sculpture. The prevailing religion of the Kurumbars was the Jaina, and this circumstance added bitterness to the hostility of the Hindu sovereigns of the Cola kingdom, who in the eighth or ninth century succeeded in crushing the Kurumbar confederation, and incorporating its lands in the Cola (Chola) territories.[1]

The above brief description of the Kurumbar organization and of its overthrow by the southern monarchy appears to me to throw considerable light on the organization and fate of the similar tribes who in the fourth century covered the western frontier of Samudra Gupta's empire.

6. The Prārjuna Tribe.

We have now laboriously traced the eastern, northern, and western frontiers of Samudra Gupta's empire, and have reached a point at which the southern extension of the dominions directly under his sway must have terminated, or very nearly terminated. We have seen that the kingdoms and tribes on the frontier are enumerated by Hariṣena, so far as possible, in the order of geographical position. The Bhīlsa country, which lies south of Ahīrwāra, certainly lay within the Mālava territories, and the inference necessarily follows that the Prārjuna tribe, which is the next enumerated, should be looked for to the east or south-east of Ahīrwāra. Assuming that the Narmadā formed the southern boundary of the empire, the Prārjuna tribe may be provisionally placed in the Narsiñhpur District of the Central Provinces.

[1] Sir W. Elliot, "Coins of Southern India" (Intern. Num. Or., vol. iii, part 2), pp. 36, 39; and the authorities cited in the notes.

7. THE SANAKĀNĪKA TRIBE,
8. THE KĀKA TRIBE, and
9. THE KHARAPARIKA TRIBE.

The exact position of any of these three tribes is not known, but we may safely assume that they lay near the Prārjuna territory, and probably in the Central Provinces, or possibly in Central India, just south of the Mālava country.

The name Kāka ('crow') may be locally associated with Kākaṇāda ('crow's voice'), the ancient name of Sānci, the celebrated Buddhist site 5½ miles south-west of Bhīlsa.[1]

The name Sanakānika, or Sanakānika, is connected with the same region by the fact that one of the inscriptions at Udayagiri near Bhīlsa records the dedication of certain sculptures by a Sanakānika chieftain.[2]

The Kharaparika tribe may have occupied the Seoni or Mandlā District of the Central Provinces. The circuit of the boundaries of the empire is thus completed.

SECTION VI.—FOREIGN POWERS.

We now pass from the enumeration of conquered provinces, frontier kingdoms, and frontier tribes, to a list of the independent foreign States at a distance with which Samudra Gupta maintained intercourse and friendly relations.

The passage of the inscription (l. 23) dealing with these foreign powers is thus literally translated by Fleet:—

"Whose binding together of the (*whole*) world, by means of the amplitude of the vigour of (*his*) arm, was effected by the acts of respectful service, such as offering themselves

[1] The name occurs in inscriptions of the Aśoka period ("Gupta Inscriptions," p. 31; *Epigraphia Indica*, ii, 87, 366, 396).

[2] The spelling Sanakānika is used in the Allahabad inscription, and the spelling Sanakānika in the Udayagiri inscription dated G.E. 82 in the reign of Candra Gupta II ("Gupta Inscriptions," p. 25). At that date the Sanakānika chief had become a subject of the empire.

as sacrifices, bringing presents of maidens, (*giving*) Garuḍa-tokens,[1] (*surrendering*) the enjoyment of their own territories, soliciting (*his*) commands, etc., (*rendered*) by the Daivaputras, Ṣāhis, Ṣāhānuṣāhis, Śakas, and Muruṇḍas, and by the people of Siṁhala and all (*other*) dwellers in islands."

The arrogant language of this passage of course exaggerates the deference paid to the subject of the panegyric, and may fairly be interpreted to mean nothing more than the exchange of complimentary embassies and gifts between the emperor of Northern India and the powers named.

Samudra Gupta's victorious raid into the Peninsula would naturally arouse the fears of the Sinhalese princes, and no doubt an embassy from Ceylon really visited his Court.[2]

The identification of the powers intended by the titles Daivaputra, Ṣāhi, Ṣāhānuṣāhi, Śaka, and Muruṇḍa, presents a difficult problem. I cannot pretend to solve this problem with absolute certainty, but venture to think that a reasonably probable solution may be offered with some confidence.

1. The Muruṇḍa King.

The Muruṇḍas may possibly have been settled in the hill country of Riwā, along the Kaimūr range, or, more probably, further south in the Vindhyas or Northern Dakhan, or possibly in Chutia Nāgpur. This conjecture is based merely on the occurrence of the name Muruṇḍadevī, or Muruṇḍa-svāminī, in inscriptions dated G.E. 193 and 197 found near the village of Khōh in the Nāgaudh State.

The princess so named was the consort of the Mahārāja Jayanātha of Uccha-kalpa, in the neighbourhood of Nāgaudh. Her name seems to indicate that she belonged to the Muruṇḍa clan, the territory of which was probably

[1] The meaning of "Garuḍa-tokens" (*garudmat-aṅka*) is obscure. Fleet supposes it to refer to gold coins, bearing, among other emblems, a representation of the Garuḍa standard, the Gupta equivalent of the Roman eagle. I believe that the term is used in the sense of "standards."

[2] I formerly treated the allusion to Ceylon as "mere rhetoric," but think the interpretation now placed on the passage is preferable.

M. Sylvain Lévi has treated the Murundas, but I have not yet seen his paper.

not very remote from the petty principality ruled by her husband.

Only one other certain mention of the Muruṇḍas has rewarded my search, but this is sufficient to show that they were a notable tribe, clan, or reigning family, worthy to be ranked with the Guptas themselves among the rulers of India. The passage referred to is in the Jaina Purāṇa, called *Harivaṁśa*, composed by the poet Jinasena in the Śaka year 705 (A.D. 637), and runs as follows:—

Verse 83. "And at the time of the *nirvāṇa* of Vīra, King Pālaka, the son of (*the king of*) Avanti, (*and*) the protector of the people, shall be crowned here on earth. (84) His reign (*shall last*) sixty years. Then, it is said, (*the rule*) of the kings of the country shall endure for a hundred and fifty-five years. (85) Then the earth (*shall be the*) undivided (*possession*) of the Muruṇḍas, for forty years; and for thirty, of the Pushpamitras (or Pushyamitras); and for sixty, of Vasumitra and Agnimitra. (86 and 87) (*Then there shall be the rule*) of the 'Ass-kings' for a hundred years. Next, (*the rule*) of Naravāhana for forty years. After (*these*) two, (*the sway*) of Bhaṭṭubāṇa (*shall last*) two hundred and forty (*years*); and the illustrious rule of the Guptas shall endure two hundred and thirty-one years. This is declared by chronologists."

Mr. K. B. Pathak, who published the above passage, quotes a couplet from the *Pārśvābhyudaya* to show that Vatsarāja, the lover of Vāsavadattā, was a Muruṇḍa.[1]

The chronology of the Jaina Purāṇa is, of course, like that of all Purāṇas, confused, and no statement in a document of this class can be accepted with confidence. But the passage quoted has certainly so much value, that it proves the existence in the seventh century A.D. of a distinct tradition that the Muruṇḍas for a period of forty years ranked among the leading ruling races of India.

If the Muruṇḍas were identical with the Muraṇḍas, my conjecture as to the position of the Muruṇḍa kingdom must

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, xv, 142.

be abandoned. The Muraṇḍa people is said to be identical with the Lampāka people, the inhabitants of Lampaka, or Lamghān, a small country lying along the northern bank of the Kābul river, bounded on the west and east by the Alingar and Kunar rivers. In the time of Hiuen Tsiang the local royal family had been extinct for several centuries, and the country was one of the dependencies of Kapiśa.[1]

2. The Śaka King.

The Śakas of India were undoubtedly a race of foreign origin, which entered India, like so many other races, across the north-western frontier; and Cunningham may be right in identifying them with the Su tribe, who were, in or about B.C. 125, forced into the province of Kipin or Kophene by the pressure of the advancing Yu-chi (Yue-ti), who included the famous Kuṣān clan. It is certain that the geographer, Isidorus of Charax, writing probably in the first century of our era, locates the Śakas in Drangiana, which he calls Sakastene.[2] Drangiana was the ancient name of the country along the Helmand river, and seems to have been included in Kipin. We must assume, therefore, that the Śakas entered India proper by the Qandahār route.

Isidorus of Charax called the inhabitants of Sakastene Saka-Scythians. The author of the "Periplus," writing

[1] Beal, "Records," ii, 90. The note quotes Mahābhārata, vii, 4,847, besides Cunningham, Reinaud, and Lassen.

[2] "La Sakastène ou le Sakastân tirait son nom des *Sakas*, qui avaient occupé toute l'ancienne Arachosie, et peut-être aussi la vallée du Kaboul, pendant le premier siècle avant notre ère; ils en avaient été chassés par les Kouchans vers l'an 30 av. J.-C., mais le nom de la contrée y avait été conservé, et il est resté jusqu'à nos jours sous la forme Seïstân (Sagastène, Segistân, Sedjistân). Les grands Yue-tchi en ont été maîtres pendant plusieurs siècles. D'après Agathias, le Sakastan fut conquis sur eux par Bahram II (276–294), qui conféra le titre de *sakanshah* ou prince des Sakas à son fils Bahram II.

"L'historien latin Vopiscus nous dit qu'au moment où Carus [emperor A.D. 282–3] traversa l'Euphrate dans sa guerre contre les Perses, Bahram II était occupé sur les frontières de l'Inde, c'est à dire de l'Afghanistan et du Kaboul. Le Sakastan, ainsi enlevé aux Kouchans, resta en la possession des Sassanides." —Drouin, "Monnaies des grands Kouchans": Rev. Num. 1896, p. 160. M. Drouin quotes Isidorus in edition of C. Müller, sec. 18. I have not been able to verify the reference to this author.

about A.D. 89,[1] calls the countries at the mouth of the Indus "the seaboard of Scythia," and states that Parthians were the rulers of Indo-Scythia. Probably the terms Parthian and Śaka were loosely used as interchangeable. The Parthian rulers at the mouths of the Indus were doubtless connected with the Parthian kings of the Western Pañjāb and Afghanistan, of whom Gondophares, about A.D. 30, is the best known. The kings Maues (Moas) and Azes, of slightly earlier date, who are known almost exclusively from coins, are generally considered to be Śakas, though the proof that they were really such does not seem to me satisfactory.[2]

The Satraps of Mathurā and Northern India, who seem to have reigned in the century before and in the century following the Christian era, betray a Persian origin, both by their official title and by their personal names. The official title indicates at least the recollection of a real connection with the Persian empire, which certainly existed before the conquests of Alexander, and the names of Hagāna and Hagāmāṣa, both Satraps, are unmistakably Persian. The name of the Satrap Śoḍāsa, too, appears to be an Indianized form of the Persian name Zodas.

The late Bhagvānlāl Indrajī, therefore, decided to call these Satraps Pahlavas, or Persians. He was certainly quite justified in doing this.[3] But Dr. Bühler, who calls them "the Śaka Satraps of Mathurā," is also justified in his nomenclature.

The Lion Capital of Mathurā is covered with dedicatory Buddhist inscriptions of members of the ruling Satrap family. One of these is recorded "in honour of the whole

[1] Cunningham gives the erroneous date "about A.D. 160." See McCrindle's edition of the "Periplus."

[2] Cunningham ("Reports," ii, 47) believed that "the *Su* or *Śakas*, being the descendants of Scytho-Parthian Dahae, were not distinguishable from true Parthians either in speech, manners, or in dress. Their names also were the same as those of the Parthians."

[3] J.R.A.S. 1894, p. 549. "The Northern Kshatrapas." The coins of these Satraps are also discussed in "Coins of Ancient India," pp. 85–90, pl. viii. But the published accounts of the coins are far from exhaustive.

Sakastane," or Śaka country, and it is reasonable to infer that the ruling family was connected with that country.[1]

I am not aware of any other *proof* that the Northern Satraps were Śakas. If it be assumed that they were Śakas, it appears plain that the Śaka tribe had a close connection with Persia, and might properly be described as Persians (Pahlavas), and that they were also sometimes regarded as identical with Parthians.

Mathurā was certainly included in the dominions of Samudra Gupta, and the rule of the semi-Persian Northern Satraps seems to have terminated long before his day.[2] Consequently, even if it prove to be the case that the Northern Satraps were Śakas, they cannot be the foreign power in alliance with Samudra Gupta.

It is possible that in his reign Śaka settlements may still have existed in Seistān, the Qandahār country, and along the Indus, but the ruling powers of the north-western frontier seem to be fully accounted for by the terms Daivaputra, Ṣāhi, and Ṣāhānuṣāhi, which will be discussed presently, and Seistān appears to have been included in the Persian dominions (Drouin, op. cit., p. 161). The Śaka king of the inscription, therefore, cannot be the ruler of Seistān.

The *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* classes the Śakas in the Western Division of India, along with the Aparāntakas, Haihayas, Jṛṅgas, Mlecchas, Pāratas, Śāntikas, Vaiśyas, and Vokkāṇas.

The country Aparānta corresponded with the modern Konkaṇa, the district extending from Gokarṇa, in the Kārwār collectorate, to the Damān Gangā, the frontier river of Gujarāt, or perhaps even further north to the

[1] J.R.A.S. 1894, "The Mathurā Lion Pillar Inscriptions," pp. 530, 531, 540. Sakastana (Śakasthāna) is identical with the Sakastone of Isidorus.

[2] The coins of the Northern Satraps, many of which I possess, are all of early date, and probably none are later than A.D. 100. An inscription of the reign of Candra Gupta II dated G.E. 82 (= A.D. 400) has been found at Mathurā ("Gupta Inscriptions," p. 25), and another inscription dated "in the fifty-seventh year" is probably to be referred to the Gupta era (Bühler, *Epigraphia Indica*, ii, 198, 210). If this is correct, the date will fall in the reign of Samudra Gupta.

Tāpī (Tāptī). The capital was Śūrpāraka, the modern Sopārā, near Bassein (Vasai) in the Thānā District.[1]

The Pūrata, or Pūrada country, must have been the Sūrat District north of Aparānta.[2]

The Haihayas occupied the upper course of the Narmadā, in the region now known as the Central Provinces.[3]

The Jṛṅgas, Śāntikas, Vaiśyas, and Vokkāṇas have not, so far as I know, been identified.

Mleccha is a general term corresponding to the Greek *βάρβαρος*, and is sufficiently explained by the following passage from the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, which relates how Sagara made "the Yavanas shave their heads entirely; the Śakas he compelled to shave (the upper) part of their heads; the Pāradas wore their hair long; and the Pahlavas let their beards grow; in obedience to his commands. Them also, and other Kṣatriya races, he deprived of the established usages of oblations to fire and the study of the Vedas, and, thus separated from religious rites, and abandoned by the Brahmans, these different tribes became Mlecchas."[4]

Manu, too, classes the Śakas with the Draviḍas and certain other tribes as degraded Kṣatriyas.[5]

The date of the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* is known to be about the middle of the sixth century A.D. These passages show that at that date the Śakas were known as a foreign people settled in Western India near the Pāradas and Pahlavas, or Persians, from whom they were distinguished by a different mode of wearing their hair. The contempt of these foreign settlers for the niceties of Hindu caste and ritual excited the disgust of Brahmanical writers, who

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, xiv, 259; xxii, 189.

[2] Ṛṣabhadatta's Nāsik inscription, No. 5, names the rivers Ibā, Pārādā, Damaṇa, Tāpī, Karabena, and Dāhanukā. The Pārādā is the Pāraḍī, or Pār, river in the Sūrat District ("Archaeological Survey of Western India," iv, 100, note 2).

[3] Cunningham, "Reports," ix, 77.

[4] "Vishnu Purāṇa" (ed. Wilson), B. iv, ch. iii, vol. iii, p. 294; quoted by Fleet in *Ind. Ant.*, xxii, 185.

[5] Manu, x, 44; quoted in "Archaeological Survey of Western India," iii, 55, note.

grouped all such unclean foreigners under the comprehensive title Mlecchа, while giving them a place in the Hindu system by inventing the fiction that the strangers were degraded Kṣatriyas.

The Śaka king of the Allahabad inscription should, in accordance with the above indications, be looked for in Western rather than in Northern India.

It seems to me hardly possible to doubt that the Śaka prince referred to in the Allahabad inscription was one of the Śaka Satraps, who "held sway, from the last quarter of the first century A.D. to the end of the fourth, over a large territory in Western India, which may be said, generally speaking, to have comprised Mālwa, Sind, Kacch, Kāṭhiāwār, Gujarāt proper, and the northern Konkan . . . . Surāṣṭra was one province only of the kingdom."[1]

These powerful princes are now commonly termed the Western Satraps, to distinguish them from the Northern Satraps of Mathurā and Upper India.

It is certain that all the dates of the Western Satraps are recorded in the Śaka era, and Bhagvānlāl Indrajī thought it probable that this era was instituted in A.D. 78 by Nahapāna, the first Satrap, to commemorate his victory over the Śātakarni, or Andhra king. Most writers ascribe the foundation of the era to the Kuṣān sovereign Kaniṣka.

Usavadāta (Ṛṣabhadatta), the son-in-law of the Satrap Nahapāna, appears to expressly call himself a Śaka in one of the Nāsik inscriptions, which series of records contains several other references to the Śakas collectively, and to individual members of the race.[2]

Nahapāna was succeeded by Chaṣṭana, a member of a different family though probably also a Śaka, in or about A.D. 111. "He was probably to some extent contemporary with Nahapāna, and, like him, the general of

[1] Bhagvānlāl Indrajī and Rapson, "The Western Kshatrapas," in J.R.A.S. 1890, Vol. XXII, N.S., p. 640.

[2] "Archaeological Survey of Western India," iv, pp. 101 (note 3), 104, 109, 114.

some Śaka sovereign; but, while Nahapāna held Surāṣṭra and the adjacent districts, Chaṣṭana would seem to have conquered a great part of Western Rājputāna and to have established himself at Ajmere, where the greater part of his coins are found. Subsequently he seems to have conquered the kingdom of Mālwa and fixed his capital at Ujjain; there can be no doubt that he is identical with the *Τιαστανός* mentioned by the geographer Ptolemy as ruling in this capital. After the death of Nahapāna, who had no son, Chaṣṭana seems to have succeeded to his dominions; and the Kṣatrapa kingdom for the future may be described as comprising the territories conquered by their first two Satraps." [1]

That kingdom of the Western Satraps had probably before the time of Samudra Gupta absorbed a large portion of the tribal territory of the Mālavas. The kingdom was itself conquered and absorbed into the empire by Samudra Gupta's son and successor, Candra Gupta II, and remained incorporated with it until the collapse of the imperial Gupta power near the end of the fifth century.

Samudra Gupta, whose direct conquests had reached the borders of Mālwā, must necessarily have been in communication with the Śaka Satraps of the West, and I have no doubt that those Satraps are the Śakas referred to by Hariṣena.

The Satrap Rudradāman describes himself in the year A.D. 150 as "lord of Eastern and Western Ākarāvatī, Anūpadeśa, Ānarta, Surāṣṭra, Śvabhra, Maru, Kaccha, Sindhu, Sauvīra, Kukura, Aparānta, and Niṣāda." This prince is also said to have "exterminated" the Yaudheyas, and to have twice defeated the Śātakarni, or Andhra, king of the south.[2] These details justify the description of the Satrap kingdom in modern terms, as given by Bhagvānlāl Indrajī.

The twenty-sixth and penultimate Western Satrap was Rudrasena, son of Rudradāman. His coins, which are

[1] J.R.A.S. 1890, p. 644.
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, vii, 258, 260, 262. Dr. Bühler identifies the various countries named.

numerous, bear dates ranging from 270 to 298, equivalent to A.D. 348 and 376.[1] Rudrasena was, therefore, the contemporary of Samudra Gupta, whose reign extended approximately from A.D. 345 to A.D. 380, and must have been the Śaka prince who sent embassies to Samudra Gupta.

3. The Daivaputra King.

The words *Daivaputra-Ṣāhi-Ṣāhānuṣāhi* in the inscription, which are, of course, after the Indian manner, written without any marks of division or punctuation, present many difficulties of interpretation, and have been differently interpreted.

Cunningham regarded the three words as forming a single compound title, designating a king of the Kuṣān tribe reigning in the Pañjāb and Afghanistan. His words are:—"At this very time, A.D. 358, the Kuṣāns were still in the height of their power, as the Samudra Gupta inscription on the Allahabad pillar mentions the presents sent by the *Devaputra Ṣāhi Ṣāhanuṣāhi* to the Indian king. As these were the peculiar titles assumed by the great Kuṣān kings, the presents must have been sent by one of them."[2]

But it seems to me very unlikely that in the enumeration *Daivaputra-Ṣāhi-Ṣāhānuṣāhi-Śaka-Muruṇḍaiḥ* the first three words are to be taken as referring to a single king. The triple title would be extremely cumbrous and unusual, and this interpretation appears to destroy the balance of the sentence. It is much more natural to take each title as referring to a single sovereign.[3] It would be difficult to find any example of the use in a single inscription or coin

[1] J.R.A.S. 1890, p. 661.

[2] Num. Chron. 1893, p. 176; "Reports," iii, 42.

[3] M. Drouin takes the same view, and writes: "Les souverains qui les ont émises [scil. monnaies] sont ceux que Samudra-Gupta a vaincus vers l'an 390 de J.-C., et qui sont désignés sur le pillier d'Allâhâbâd sous les noms de *Daivaputras*, *Shâhis*, *Shâhânushâhis*, et *Sakas*" ("Monnaies des Grands Kouchans," in Rev. Num. 1896, p. 158). I do not think that the word *vaincus* is justified by the terms of the inscription, or by the probabilities of the situation.

legend of the cumbrous complex title *Daivaputra-ṣāhi-ṣāhānuṣāhi*, although it is true that all three titles were used by the Kuṣān kings, and two of them may be found combined. The Śakas also used the titles *Ṣāhi* and *Ṣāhānuṣāhi*, and it would be as justifiable to connect those words in the inscription with *Śaka* as with *Daivaputra*.[1] It is just possible that the cognate titles *Ṣāhi* and *Ṣāhānuṣāhi* ought really to be treated as a single compound title, but with this reservation I have no hesitation in rejecting the interpretation approved by Cunningham, and preferring that adopted by Fleet, who translates the passage in question by the words—"the Daivaputras, Ṣāhis, Ṣāhānuṣāhis, Śakas, and Muruṇḍas." It is, however, still better to treat each term as singular, and to translate—"the Daivaputra, the Ṣāhi, the Ṣāhānuṣāhi, the Śaka, and the Muruṇḍa," the word 'king' being understood in each case. I think this translation is the most correct. The passage unquestionably refers to monarchical powers.

The Sanskrit title Daivaputra could only apply to a sovereign ruling in India or on the confines of India. It is probably of Chinese origin, being the literal translation of the Chinese emperor's title, 'Son of Heaven' (*Tien-tze*).[2] Whatever be the correct interpretation of the words Ṣāhi and Ṣāhānuṣāhi, the application of the title Daivaputra is not open to question. It was the chosen and, so far as is known, peculiar title of the Kuṣān kings of Peshāwar and Kābul—the kingdom of Gāndhāra.

This title Devaputra (Daivaputra) was that specially affected by the great Kuṣān kings Kaniṣka, Huviṣka (Hukṣa or Huṣka), and Vasudeva (or Vāsuṣka). The

[1] "We find a late, but very distinct, reminiscence of these Scythic titles in the Jain legend of Kālakācārya, which calls the princes of the Śakas—the protectors of the saint—Ṣāhi, and their sovereign lord Ṣāhānuṣāhi."—Stein, "Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins" (*Ind. Ant.*, xvii, 95; quoting Jacobi in *Zeitschrift* of German Or. Soc., vol. xxxiv, p. 255).

[2] "A Record of the Buddhist Religion," by I-tsing (ed. Takakusu, Oxford, 1896), p. 136, note 3. The Chinese influence on Northern India in the early centuries of the Christian era was considerable.

Jaina inscriptions from Mathurā and the Sānci records offer numerous examples, of which a few may be quoted :—

"In the year 5 of Devaputra Kaniṣka."[1]
"In the year . . . of Devaputra Huviṣka."
"of Devaputra Hukṣa."[2]
"of the Rājātirāja Devaputra Ṣāhi Vāsuṣka."[3]

It will be observed that in the first two quotations Kaniṣka and Huviṣka call themselves simply Devaputra, whereas the later Vāsuṣka, in the year 78 (= A.D. 156), adds the Persian title Ṣāhi and the Indian title Rājātirāja, the equivalent of Ṣāhānuṣāhi. He does not, however, actually combine Ṣāhi and Ṣāhānuṣāhi.

Fa-hian, travelling about A.D. 403, distinguishes the region of Gāndhāra from the Peshāwar country, which lay four days' journey further south, but does not note whether or not both districts were under the same government.[4] At the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit, about A.D. 631, Peshāwar was the capital of Gāndhāra, which was then ruled by a governor sent from Kapiśa, north of Kābul, the local royal family of Gāndhāra having become extinct.[5] In the interval between the two Chinese pilgrims the irruption of the White Huns had effected a revolution in all political arrangements.

The names of the successors of Vasudeva are known from coins only. The coins struck in the Pañjāb and Afghanistan agree closely in form, standard, and style with those of the famous kings Kaniṣka, Huviṣka, and Vasudeva. Some of the names are monosyllables in the Chinese fashion, such as *Mi* and *Bhu*. Others have been Indianized, and a prince, who probably ruled about A.D. 300, assumed the purely Indian name Samudra. The coins occur in four metals—gold, silver, brass, and copper or bronze. Some of these pieces may have been struck by provincial

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, i, p. 382, inscription No. 1.
[2] Ibid., ii, p. 206, Nos. xxv and xxvi.
[3] Ibid., ii, p. 369 ; a Sānci inscription.
[4] Chapters x–xii.
[5] Beal, "Records," i, 97.

governors or viceroys of Gāndhāra or Peshāwar, and some were probably issued by the greater Kuṣān sovereign whose capital was at or near Kābul.[1] One of these Kuṣān kings is the Devaputra of the inscription.

4. The Ṣāhi King.

Subject to the reservation already noted that the words Ṣāhi and Ṣāhānuṣāhi may possibly be interpreted as forming a compound title referring to one king, though preferably interpreted as referring to two distinct sovereigns, I now proceed to attempt their interpretation on the latter supposition.

The title Ṣāhi was, as we have seen, used by the Devaputra Kuṣān kings of Gāndhāra in the first and second centuries A.D. It continued in use on the north-western frontier of India up to the beginning of the eleventh century.[2] The problem before me is to ascertain the prince to whom the title was considered specially applicable in the fourth century.

Contemporary documents of that period are clearly the best available evidence, and the only strictly contemporary documents at present accessible are coin legends, on which, therefore, my argument will be based.

It seems to me that the Ṣāhi king of the inscription was one of those Kidāra Kuṣān princes who took the simple title of Ṣāhi without addition, and whose money is approximately contemporaneous with Samudra Gupta.

[1] These coins of the so-called Later Indo-Scythians, or Later Great Kuṣāns, are described and discussed by Cunningham (Numismatic Chronicle for 1893, pp. 112 seqq.); V. A. Smith (Journ. As. Soc. Bengal for 1897, part i, p. 5); E. Drouin (Revue Numism. for 1896, p. 154). M. Drouin observes (p. 160): "La capitale ou une des capitales des grands Yue-tchi ou grands Kouchans (car ce vaste empire, qui s'étendait encore, à l'époque Sassanide, de la mer Caspienne à l'Indus, devait avoir plusieurs résidences royales) était Kâboul."

[2] Alberuni, "Indica" (Sachau's translation, ii, 10; quoted by Stein, "Zur Geschichte der Çâhis von Kâbul"). The last of the Turkish Ṣāhi kings of Kābul was Laga-Tūrmān. These kings were succeeded by a Hindu dynasty, who also took the title of Ṣāhi, and lasted till A.D. 1021 (A.H. 412), when Trilocanapāla was killed. See also "Coins of Mediaeval India," p. 55. Cunningham follows Thomas in reading *Al Kitormân* instead of Laga-Tūrmān. In Kaśmīr the title *Ṣāhi* lingered till A.D. 1100. Cunningham says that Trilocanapāla was alive in A.D. 1027 (V.S. 1084).

Two silver coins issued by one of these princes are thus described by Cunningham:—

"Kidāra Ṣāhi.

"*Obv.* Bust of the king to the front, with bushy hair on both sides of the face, like the Sassanian kings; crown with triple ornament; long earrings. Indian inscription in early Gupta letters, *Kidāra Kuṣāna Ṣāhi*, the last letter, *hi*, being close to the face on the right.

"*Rev.* Fire-altar, with two attendants carrying drawn swords, or perhaps the *barsom*. Below the altar are three characters, which I take for numerals. They are the same on all my three specimens, although the coins are from different dies. I read them as 339, which if referred to the Śaka era would be 339 + 78 = A.D. 417."[1]

The weight of each of the two specimens described in detail was 56 grains, and the diameter 1·10 inch. These coins, which have a very Persian appearance, in spite of the Indian legends, appear to me to be probably the coinage of the Ṣāhi dynasty with which Samudra Gupta had relations. The coins of which I have quoted the technical descriptions are evidently the earliest of a long series which ultimately merges into the coinage of the kingdom of Kāśmīr. The kings of Kāśmīr intermarried with the Ṣāhi dynasty of Kābul. In the above quoted description Cunningham gives the date read on the coins as 339, but from a passage a few pages earlier it is plain that he really read the date as 239, and adopted the date a century later in deference to supposed historical necessities. He says: "The reverse has the Sassanian fire-altar, with three letters or numerals on the base, and the usual attendant priests at the side. *I read the three characters as numerals forming* 239, *or perhaps* 339, which, referred to the era of A.D. 78, would give either A.D. 317 or 417. The latter is the preferable date, as the period of Kidāra can be fixed with some certainty in the first half of the

[1] Num. Chron. 1893, p. 199, pl. vi (xv), 1, 2.

fifth century A.D."[1] He then proceeds to determine the date according to his interpretation of Chinese authorities, the correctness of which interpretation I shall not now stop to discuss. Cunningham does not explain his reasons for reading the three characters as the numerals 239, and I am unable to read them; all I can say is, that no two of the characters seem to be identical.

Kidāra is supposed to be identical with the Ki-to-lo of the Chinese writers. The word is evidently a family or dynastic title. A Ki-to-lo chief of the Little Yuchi (Kuṣāns) established himself at Peshāwar about A.D. 430.[2] But, in the time of Samudra Gupta, the Devaputra dynasty of Kuṣān (Greater Kuṣān) princes was still reigning in the Northern Pañjāb, and the Ṣāhi Kidāra (Ki-to-lo) must apparently be placed further south, somewhere in the direction of Qandahār. The Ṣāhi Kidāra princes were probably subordinate to the kings who took the higher title of Ṣāhānuṣāhi.

5. The Ṣāhānuṣāhi King.

The Ṣāhānuṣāhi, or King of Kings, with whom Samudra Gupta had diplomatic relations, was probably the Sassanian king of Persia, Sapor, or Shāhpur II, whose long reign (A.D. 309 to 380 or 381) was almost exactly conterminous with that of Samudra Gupta.

The relations of Sapor II with the Kuṣān princes on the Oxus and on the Indian frontier were close and intimate. Sapor's predecessor, Hormazd II, married the daughter of a Kuṣān king, and has left numismatic memorials of his pride in the alliance. He struck coins in which he described himself as "the Mazdean, divine Hormazd, of the royal family of the Great Kuṣāns, king of kings [*scil.* of Irān]." Another coin of his presents the

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 184. The italics are mine.
[2] This is the date adopted by Stein in his pamphlet "Zur Geschichte der Çāhis von Kābul," p. 4 (Stuttgart, 1893). He quotes Von Gutschmid, "Geschichte Irān's." Cunningham (*op. cit.*, p. 184) takes the date as A.D. 425–430.

obverse device used by his contemporary Basana [Bāṣana], coupled with the Sassanian fire-altar as reverse device.[1]

When Sapor II besieged Amida, the modern Diarbekir, on the Tigris, in A.D. 359, about the middle of the reign of Samudra Gupta, his victory over the Roman garrison was won with the aid of Indian elephants and Kuṣān troops. The aged Grumbates, king of the Chionitae, occupied the place of honour in the army of the Great King, and he was supported by the Segestani, or Śakas, of Sakastene, or Seistān.

Cunningham is almost certainly right in interpreting the term Chionitae as the Greek translation of Tushāra or Tukhāra (Tokhari), an alternative name of the Kuṣāns, with the meaning "men of the snows."[2]

The term Ṣāhānuṣāhi in the inscription may possibly designate not the Great King of Persia, but the Great King of the Kuṣāns on the Oxus. We have seen that the Persian sovereign was so proud of his alliance with the Kuṣān royal family that he struck coins specially to commemorate the event, and claimed to have become a member of his wife's clan. The Kuṣān and the Persian sovereigns appear to have met on equal terms, and both assumed the title of "King of Kings." Certain coins found near the Oxus, though of purely Sassanian style and fabric, have purely Indian reverse devices, and the ordinary Indo-Kuṣān obverse device; that is to say, the obverse, like the coins of Kaniṣka, exhibits the king throwing incense on a fire-altar, and the reverse exhibits the figure of Śiva and his

[1] Cunningham's readings and translations (Num. Chron. 1893, p. 179, pl. xiii (iv), figs. 2, 6) are corrected by M. Drouin ("Monnaies des grands Kouchans," Rev. Num. 1896, p. 163). Neither Hormazd nor any other Sassanian sovereign was ever "king of kings of the Kuṣāns," and Hormazd, consequently, could not have assumed that title, as Cunningham supposed him to have done. The late historian Mirkhond, or Khondamir (Rehatsek's translation, ii, 340), is the only writer who mentions the marriage of Hormazd with the Kuṣān princess, but, as M. Drouin observes, the coins prove that Mirkhond had good authority for his statement. I have not had the opportunity of verifying the reference to Mirkhond. The Basana coin has been published by the writer in J.A.S.B. 1897.

[2] Num. Chron. 1893, pp. 169–177. Gibbon (ch. xix) gives A.D. 360 as the date of the siege of Amida; Cunningham adopts the date A.D. 358. Gibbon notes a certain amount of confusion in the chronology of the original authority, Ammianus. Drouin gives A.D. 359.

bull, with other Indian symbols. The legends of these coins are in corrupt Greek. Cunningham supposed that these pieces (e.g. his No. 12, op. cit.) were struck by the Sassanian kings after the conquest of a province from the Kuṣāns. M. Drouin rejects this hypothesis, and denies the supposed conquest. He prefers (op. cit., p. 168) to suppose that the Kuṣān kings adopted Persian names along with Persian costume and headdress, just as in India Kuṣān princes adopted Indian names, such as Samudra. The coins in question bear the title Ṣāhānuṣāhi in a corrupt Greek form. Whether the Kuṣān king on the Oxus was identical with or distinct from the Kuṣān king of Kābul, I cannot pretend to affirm.

SECTION VII.—CONCLUSION.

The weary reader will probably welcome a concise summary of the principal historical results of the foregoing dissertation. In some points my conclusions do not exactly agree with those set forth in the article on the history of Samudra Gupta. The opinions now enunciated are the outcome of further study, and are believed to be more correct.

Pāṭaliputra (Patna) was the capital of Samudra Gupta's father and predecessor, Candra Gupta I (A.D. 318 to 345), the first independent sovereign of the Gupta family. The dominions of that prince, though considerable, were of moderate extent. They appear not to have extended farther east than Bhāgalpur (Campā), and not much farther west than Lucknow. They comprised the whole of Bihār, both north and south of the Ganges, Oudh, and the eastern districts of the North-Western Provinces, the northern boundary being probably the first range of hills.

Samudra Gupta (A.D. 345 to 380) devoted his reign to the enlargement of his father's boundaries. He found Pāṭaliputra no longer suitable as a permanent residence, and after the early part of his reign his headquarters

were probably fixed most often either at Ayodhya or Kauśāmbi, which latter city was not very far from Allahabad.[1]

In the course of a long reign, which must have lasted at least thirty-five years, Samudra Gupta reduced to complete subjection nine kings of Northern India, and incorporated their dominions in his empire. He brought under his control the wild chiefs of the forest tribes along the Narmadā river and in the recesses of the Vindhya mountains, and so extended his sway that his empire was bounded on the east by the Brahmaputra, on the north by the Himālaya, on the west by the Satlaj, Jamnā, and Betwa, and on the south by the Narmadā. Beyond these limits he held in subordinate alliance the frontier kingdoms of the Gangetic delta, and those of the southern slopes of the Himālaya, as well as the free tribes of Mālwa and Rājputāna. A brilliant and successful raid brought his victorious armies to the extremity of the Peninsula, and effected the humiliation and temporary subjugation of twelve kingdoms of the south. On his north-western frontier the Indian emperor maintained close diplomatic relations with the Kuṣān princes of Kābul and Qandahār, and probably with the Great King of Persia. The fame of the southern raid penetrated to Ceylon and other islands, and brought to the victor's court embassies and complimentary presents from many strange and distant lands.

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[1] Kauśāmbi is usually identified with Kosam, a village about twenty-eight miles west of Allahabad. The identification is in this sense correct that Kosam has been believed by local residents since at least A.D. 1824 to be the ancient Kauśāmbi (*Epigraphia Indica*, ii, 244). But Kosam is *not* the Kauśāmbi visited by Hiuen Tsiang, which lay much farther south. Bharhut corresponds fairly well with the position of Kauśāmbi as described by Hiuen Tsiang. The proof of these observations, which attack a cherished belief, must be reserved for another *Prolegomenon*.



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